

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-15 OMB-01 SAJ-01 DRC-01 /134 W

----- 076178

R 111628Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7969

INFO AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

USMISSION BERLIN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: THE CDU DRAFTS A PROGRAM

SUMMARY: THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE CDU HAS DRAFTED
PIECES OF A PARTY PLATFORM TO BE PRESENTED TO ITS
FEDERAL CONVENTION NEXT MONTH. THE PROGRAM REPRESENTS
AN ATTEMPT CHIEFLY BY KOHL AND BIEDENKOPF TO GIVE THE
CDU A SOMEWHAT MORE LIBERAL STANCE THAN IT HAS HAD IN
THE PAST, BUT WHETHER IT WILL BE ADOPTED AT THE CONVEN-
TION WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IS FAR FROM CERTAIN.
END SUMMARY.

1. THE 30 MEMBER FEDERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE CDU MET
OCTOBER 6-7 TO DRAFT THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS OF A
POLITICAL PROGRAM TO BE PRESENTED TO THE PARTY'S
NATIONAL CONVENTION IN HAMBURG IN NOVEMBER.

A. CODETERMINATION IN INDUSTRY. THERE WILL BE
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EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF LABOR AND CAPITAL ON A

COMPANY'S BOARD OF SUPERVISORS (AUSICHTSRAT) WITH EACH OF LABOR'S SUB-GROUPS--I.E. WHITE COLLAR, BLUE COLLAR, AND MANAGERIAL EMPLOYEES--ELECTING ITS OWN REPRESENTATIVES. THE MAJORITY OF LABOR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE EMPLOYEES OF THE COMPANY IN QUESTION BUT THE RELEVANT UNION AND THE COMPANY'S WORKS COUNCIL COULD CHOOSE TO NOMINATE TWO UNION REPRESENTATIVES FROM OUTSIDE THE PLANT. LABOR REPRESENTATIVES IN ANY CASE MUST BE ELECTED BY THE PLANT EMPLOYEES. IN THE CASE OF AN EQUAL VOTE ON AN ISSUE REQUIRING APPROVAL BY THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, MANAGEMENT WOULD BE FREE TO ACT AS IT WISHES. MANAGEMENT WOULD ALSO APPOINT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD.

B. PROFIT-SHARING. LEGISLATION IS NOT THE ONLY AND INDEED NOT THE BEST PATH TO ACHIEVE A BROADER DISTRIBUTION OF THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH. THE BEST MEANS IS NEGOTIATED AGREEMENTS BETWEEN LABOR AND PLANT OWNERS ON THE SHARING OF SOME OF THE PLANT'S PROFITS. MONEY RESULTING FROM THESE AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE PAID DIRECTLY TO THE WORKERS AND NOT TO A CENTRAL FUND.

C. REAL ESTATE. EXCESS AND SPECULATIVE PROFITS IN REAL ESTATE SHOULD BE REDUCED BY CHANGING THE "UNIT VALUES" BY WHICH REAL ESTATE TAXES ARE MEASURED SO AS TO REDUCE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM AND MARKET VALUES, AND REAL ESTATE SALES TAXES SHOULD BE ADJUSTED ACCORDINGLY. UNDER CURRENT LAW, PROFITS ON THE SALE OF REAL ESTATE ARE TAXABLE ONLY WHEN THE PROPERTY HAS BEEN HELD LESS THAN TWO YEARS; THAT PROVISION SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO TEN YEARS.

D. VOCATIONAL TRAINING. THE CURRENT DUAL SYSTEM--I.E. BY FIRMS AS WELL AS VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS--SHOULD BE CONTINUED, BUT LAND-BUND COORDINATION SHOULD BE IMPROVED AND MORE PUBLIC FUNDS MADE AVAILABLE.

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2. COMMENT: THE ABOVE PROPOSALS ARE THE RESULT OF A COMPLEX OF POLITICAL PRESSURES AND PROGRAMMATIC NEEDS, THE FIRST OF WHICH WAS TO GIVE THE HAMBURG CONVENTION SOME PLACE TO BEGIN ITS WORK, BUT THEY DO NOT IN THEMSELVES CONSTITUTE A DOCUMENT THAT BLAZES NEW TRAILS. THE CODETERMINATION PROPOSAL, FOR EXAMPLE, PROVIDES FOR EQUAL LABOR AND CAPITAL NUMERICAL REPRESENTATION AND

THUS PROVIDES "PARITY", LONG A MAGIC WORD FOR THE TRADE
UNIONS, BUT IT TAKES IT AWAY IMMEDIATELY BY GIVING
MANAGEMENT DECISIVE AUTHORITY IN THE EVENT OF A VOTE
DIVIDED ALONG THE "PARITY" LINE. FURTHERMORE, BOTH
CARSTENS AND STRAUSS ARE OPPOSED TO THE ADOPTION OF ANY
PRECISE CODETERMINATION MODEL, AND THE LEFT OR BLUEM
WING OF THE CDU'S OWN SOCIAL COMMITTEES IS DISSATISFIED

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WITH THE MODEL AGREED UPON. NOR IS IT ACCEPTABLE TO THE
DGB.

3. THE PROFIT-SHARING PROVISION IS ALSO UNACCEPTABLE
TO THE DGB FOR SEVERAL REASONS, CHIEF OF WHICH IS THE
COMPANY-WORKERS LOYALTY THAT EXPERIENCE SHOWS RESULTS
FROM DIRECT PROFIT-SHARING PAYMENTS, TO THE DETRIMENT

OF UNION INFLUENCE. THIS PARTICULAR PROPOSAL HAS ALSO BEEN CONDEMNED BY THE FDP WHICH FINDS IT SO "USELESS AS TO BE UNWORTHY OF DISCUSSION," PRIMARILY BECAUSE IT WOULD BE VOLUNTARY AND THUS COULD RESULT IN INTOLERABLE DIFFERENCES IN INCOME BETWEEN INDUSTRIES OR EVEN PLANTS WITHIN ONE INDUSTRY.

4. THE DOCUMENT IS A VICTORY OF SORTS FOR KOHL AND BIEDENKOPF AND CAN BE SEEN AS A STEP TOWARD KOHL'S GOAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF MOVING THE CDU LEFTWARD SO THAT IT CAN HOPE TO RECOVER VOTES IT HAS LOST TO THE SPD AND THE FDP AND THAT DONE, PLACING HIMSELF IN THE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION TO BECOME THE CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE IN 1976. THUS KOHL IS IN A POSITION ALMOST EXACTLY ANALOGOUS TO THE ONE HE OCCUPIED ON THE EVE OF THE JANUARY 1971 CONVENTION IN DUESSELDORF, WHERE HE LEARNED THE HARD WAY THAT WHEN THE RHETORIC IS STRIPPED AWAY, THE CDU REMAINS WHAT IT ALWAYS HAS BEEN, A CONSERVATIVE PARTY. IT IS NOT AT ALL CERTAIN THAT THE CDU OF 1973 IS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT FROM 1971, AND KOHL KNOWS THAT. BUT HE HAS DECIDED THAT NOW IS THE TIME AND HAMBURG THE PLACE TO MAKE HIS FIRST MOVE TOWARD 1976.
HILLENBRAND

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